

## FROM MILITANT RACISM TO EGALITARIAN SOLIDARITY: CONFLICTING ATTITUDES TOWARD GYPSIES IN SPAIN

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This essay examines the interethnic relations between the majority of the Spanish population (called *payos* by the Gypsies) and the Gypsies (*gitanos*) from the vantage point of the *payos*. The historical coordinates of the Gypsy people are given, from the first anti-Gypsy bill in 1499 to the last anti-Gypsy laws of 1942, showing the marginalization and persecution suffered by the Gypsies over five centuries. Though there is no discriminatory law against the Spanish Gypsies today, prejudice still exists, even among the young, as my research on the attitudes of *payo* students indicates.

### **The Gypsies, a Spanish People**

The Gypsies have been a community embedded in the mosaic of Spain since the end of the fifteenth century, lending a unique and distinctive tone to Spanish culture. As seen from afar, their unusual image has been exploited as a tourist attraction and as a superficial identity label, not only in Andalusia but also, by extensive association with Spain itself, as an item for foreign consumption. As far as the Gypsies themselves are concerned, however, their cultural reality is something quite different: during their five-hundred-year residence in Spain, coexistence has been neither just, peaceful, nor respectful of their cultural uniqueness. Wretched living conditions, prejudice, and stereotyping have violated their human rights and made a mockery of the democratic and egalitarian ideals formally set forth in all European countries and constitutions.

Article 14 of the Spanish Constitution of 1978 provides for equality under the law for all citizens and condemns all discrimination:

Spaniards are equal under the law, and no discrimination by reason of birth, race, sex, religion, opinion, or any other personal or social circumstance may subsist.

Another radical novelty is the constitutional recognition of the status of autonomy, based on the right of the peoples of Spain to their cultural and historical individuality. In this sense, Gypsies must be considered unique within the mosaic of Spanish cultures and peoples, in recognition of the distinguishing historical fact that calls not for land but for equal and responsible treatment equal to that enjoyed by other autonomous communities.

It is cause for optimism that at the first assembly of the European Community, attended by Spanish deputies on January 15, 1986, the European Parliament approved a motion condemning fascism and racism, expressing heartfelt opposition to marginalization of the Gypsies. But facts are more stubborn and persistent than words; we remain horrified by

news of the death in Madrid on March 1, 1986, of two Gypsy children burned to death in a shack where they lived with their parents and four siblings, all of whom were seriously burned.

If we are to approach a theoretical understanding of the Gypsy people and cultures, and to place them in their proper socioscientific framework, it is necessary to first establish three basic analytic coordinates: sociological class structure, the cultural anthropological fabric, and age-old discrimination against the Gypsies (Calvo Buezas 1980).

The Gypsy minority is part of the unique system of production and class characteristic of Spanish society as a whole. Consequently, its status, problems, conflicts, and expectations are ultimately determined by the evolution of the means of production and the class relations of the Spanish socioeconomic and political system. Basic changes for the Gypsy community—favourable as well as unfavourable—in jobs, schooling, housing, consumption habits, and many of their cultural concerns will be promoted mainly, although not exclusively, by the economic, labour, educational, and cultural status of the dominant sector of society. We can better explain the recent changes in Gypsy society from this theoretical perspective. A significant number of Gypsies have given up cattle raising as a means of livelihood, not because they wanted to or were not doing well, but because the Spanish productive process mechanized the countryside, replacing mules with tractors, dumping peasants in the city and abroad—even as urban industry was demanding cheap labour, speculating on wages, building apartment houses across the nation, and flooding its outskirts with garbage and waste.

This entire socioeconomic process, in which the Gypsy minority played no role whatsoever, has brought about the most important changes in its way of life in nearly five hundred years: it has forced it—regardless of individual wishes or collective will as an ethnos—into ‘sedentarization,’ urbanization, and incipient proletarianization (Colectivo Giems 1976). These interrelated social processes will continue to change, even more profoundly, traditional patterns of Gypsy culture and behaviour in areas as decisive as the relationship between parents and children, youth and the elderly, relations with *payo* [non-Gypsy] society, and the position of Gypsy women. The wagon and the tent have passed from the realm of collective reality into distinctive mythological symbols for Gypsies of the future. Consequently, any analysis of their culture must be based, first and foremost, on their socioeconomic mode of life, and must take into account such ecological factors as inadequate housing, type of work, low income, educational and health levels, and insufficient participation in social and political life—in short, it must confront their subproletarian status in the class structure of the Spanish economic system. Many cultural features now considered ‘specifically Gypsy’ are consequences and behaviours characteristic of the poverty and misery in which they live.

Having established the preeminence of economic and class relations in Gypsy issues, we must affirm the cultural characteristics of the Gypsy community which transform it into a cultural ethnos with an identity *sui generis*. Class analysis does not invalidate the importance of dividing society as a whole into ethnic groups, on the assumption that the dialectical relations between class and cultural ethnos will be studied in each case. And in considering ethnic groups, the determining factor (apart from the differences) is to analyze the effect of power in the relations between *payo* society and the Gypsy minority. When this relation is one of dominance and dependence, as is the case with the Gypsies, class exploitation aggravates the marginalization for motives of ethnicity; as a result, the problems of housing, education, jobs, and health that beset the entire Spanish proletariat and lumpenproletariat become more acute in the Gypsy community.

This dialectical consideration of class relations and ethnos, each reinforcing the other in the case of the Gypsies, is of great importance for the Gypsy movement and its struggle. To

forget either of these factors of exploitation and, hence, of liberation, is to lose your way on the long and difficult road of the Gypsy cause (Calvo Buezas, 1981b). Consequently, it must be recognized in analyzing the Gypsy phenomenon that, rooted and intertwined in their socioeconomic way of life, are the guidelines, canons, loyalties, aspirations, and singular values of the Gypsy community; these features shape the community as a people with their own identity, with a specific culture as respectable as any other in Spain. The singular conjunction of a poverty-stricken way of life and cultural specificity renders the Gypsies different from other communities in Spain, thereby giving rise to the binary division of *payos* vs. Gypsies. Being a minority—especially a marginalized one—engenders a social dynamic and a dialectical process of discrimination that at critical moments leads to overt conflict between *payos* and Gypsies.

To the perspectives of social underclass and cultural singularity must be joined that of history in its various connotations. In the first place, the socioeconomic and Gypsy cultural form, like any culture or social formation, must be considered historical, that is, as changing and mutable, and not as a substantive and objective immutable entity. A people can change its way of life and cultural features and still preserve its own identity. This historical perspective must combine the interplay of backward and forward glimpses—without losing sight of the ongoing process. Gypsy history from the fifteenth century has been one of deprecation, discrimination, and persecution. And that history somehow continues to impinge upon the present with its catalogue of prejudices and stereotypes. Let us examine some examples of the persecution of the Gypsy people.

### Gypsies in Spain: A History of Persecution

The Gypsies reached Spain toward the end of the fifteenth century as honorable pilgrims to Santiago, led by such well-known Gypsy figures as Count Tomás, Count Martín, and Count Jacobo. When these pilgrims became residents of Spain, conflict began. The first anti-Gypsy legislation is found in a decree of their Catholic majesties in 1499:

*Egipcianos* [Gypsies] and foreign coppersmiths shall, for sixty days subsequent to proclamation, reside in towns and villages, serve masters who shall give them whatever subsistence they deem necessary, and shall not wander throughout the kingdoms in groups; at the end of sixty days they shall leave Spain or be punished with one hundred lashes and banishment the first time, and if they return their ears shall be cut off, and they shall be banished again the second time they are caught.

Then came an attempt to eradicate their culture:

... and male and female Gypsy dress, name, and language, since they are not of the nation, may not be used and shall disappear and forever become forgotten. (royal decree of June 28, 1619, Philip III)

Cultural discrimination developed into a policy of personal extermination that lasted for over 150 years, as is shown in the following ordinances of three Spanish monarchs (Sánchez Ortega 1976, 1977):

Gypsies shall be hunted down with gun and sword, and even the sanctity of churches may be violated in persecuting them, dragging them from the steps of the altar should they reach them while seeking refuge. (decree of Philip IV, March 8, 1633)

And we declare and order that if those called Gypsies are apprehended in groups of three or more bearing long or short firearms, on foot or on horseback, whether or not residing in these kingdoms, or even if not guilty of any other crime, they shall be put to death. (decree of Charles II, June 1695)

All Gypsies abiding in the cities and towns to which they have been assigned shall return to their place of residence within fifteen days or be declared outlaws and, if found beyond the limits of their neighbourhood, whether armed or unarmed, it shall be lawful to shoot them dead. (resolution issued by Philip V, October 30, 1745)

Even after promulgation of the UN Charter of Human Rights, the discriminatory Ordinance-Regulation of the Civil Guard of July 23, 1942, was still in effect in Franco's Spain:

Gypsies shall be carefully watched, being very meticulous in examining their papers, checking their description, observing their dress, investigating their means of livelihood and whatever is necessary to form a clear idea of their movements and affairs, determining to where they are travelling and for what purpose.

With the restitution of democracy, that regulation was annulled in 1978 by unanimous vote of the Parliament, upon the motion of a Gypsy deputy.

Article 14 of the Constitution of 1978 proclaims the equality of all citizens, as we have seen. The Council of Ministers on January 11, 1979, approved a royal decree on the establishment of an interministerial committee for the study of problems affecting the Gypsy community—the first law to benefit the Gypsies since they have been in Spain (Calvo Buezas, 1984). Royal Decree 250/1979 (Official Bulletin of the Government, February 14), in recognizing the historic guilt of the government administration toward the Gypsy minority, acknowledges that:

At a time like the present, when the fundamental rights of all Spaniards have been set forth in the Constitution, it is necessary for the administration to stress its service to all social groups, granting to Spanish Gypsies the same rights and public freedoms that it extends to all citizens.

The Gypsy community, settled in Spain in the fifteenth century, has traditionally been a discriminated against and marginalized minority and has consequently suffered grave inequities in housing, education, health care, jobs, culture, and social coexistence as citizens. Felipe González, in his inaugural address, was the first Spanish president to speak of Gypsies in favourable terms. After an emotional speech by the Gypsy deputy Juan de Dios Ramírez Heredia on October 3, 1985, Parliament approved, by a vote of 225–7 with 1 abstention, the establishment of an administrative welfare agency for the Gypsy community and a national Gypsy development plan. If only the Gypsies are not cheated again and such good intentions are realized!

Because the Gypsies have not forgotten their persecution, its memory serves them in their struggle. It is significant that *Camelamos naquerar* ('We Wish to Speak'), a work produced by the dancer Mario Maya and the Gypsy poet José Heredia Maya in commemoration of Gypsy persecution, should begin with this recitative:

And not knowing why, came exile. . .  
An endless hegira on every road,  
Banished,  
stateless  
in every realm,  
hounded by the pack,  
harried,  
defamed  
by decree,  
etched with the chisel of contempt.  
Sown to the swing of your riding crop  
fierce, furious, frenzied,  
remaining visible  
from India, perhaps  
in a long chain of horizons.

Who accepted the fever, the passion  
of a strange spirit transformed into  
an ass  
bronze  
a staff  
*cante jondo*,  
contempt, above all?

This doleful lament, redolent of injustice, would seem like a bygone nightmare if the media did not periodically rouse us with the painful litany of their mortifying saga of *payo*-Gypsy conflicts, testifying to the gravity of anti-Gypsy discrimination and the depths of Gypsy poverty.

### *Spanish Teachers and Students Vis-à-Vis the Gypsy People*

The following presentation summarizes some of the results of my research on the attitudes and prejudices of teachers and students with regard to other peoples and cultures, especially the Gypsies. This study was done in three phases. First, schoolbooks were analyzed for references to ethnic minorities and racism. Second, a national survey of teachers and students was conducted on prejudice and ethnic stereotypes. Third, testimony and spontaneous writings by children and youths were compiled on the interethnic relations between the *payo* majority and Gypsies. Schematic references to the conclusions of our studies are included.<sup>1</sup>

School, though not the most important institution, continues to play a leading role, and textbooks provide important insights. What do schoolbooks say about racism? My sample consisted of 218 EGB [basic general education], BUP [secondary], and professional training manuals, comprising 48,853 pages and 29,853 illustrations in social sciences, history, languages, the humanities, philosophy, religion, and ethics. Racism is adequately treated, with sharp and explicit condemnation of racial and ethnic discrimination in every form. This may be construed as quite positive, inasmuch as any denunciation of racial prejudice—even with no express mention of Spain—encourages attitudes of solidarity and coexistence. Nevertheless, despite this undeniable fact, two substantive annotations must be made: 1) Racism is found in other countries, outside of Spain, principally in the United States against blacks and Hispanics, in Africa against blacks, and in Nazi Germany against Jews; 2) repeated denunciations of racism in other parts of the world, combined with exceedingly

meager references to the ethnoracial prejudices of Spaniards, may inspire the dangerous illusion in children and adolescents that there is no racism in Spain—that 'we' are the good guys and the 'others' are racist and discriminatory.

Furthermore, there is almost total silence on the Gypsies, who comprise about half a million Spanish citizens: we found only 17 references, totaling 57 lines, to Gypsies in the nearly 50,000 pages examined. It is true that we did not see one word about any people that could be expressly construed as racist or xenophobic, and the treatment of human solidarity was exemplary. However, without belittling this assertion, a significant nuance must be brought out: there is a continuous line, sometimes overt, sometimes veiled, situating serious social problems outside Spain, creating the stereotype that 'evil is elsewhere' and that 'other people are racists.' Such discourse can generate a fallacious ideology in children, as well as a fatuous narcissism that can lead them to believe, like Alice, that they living in Wonderland.<sup>2</sup>

Human equality and the condemnation of racism and xenophobia are 'preached' in schoolbooks and officially 'taught,' but what do teachers and students really think and feel? The following are some results of a national survey of teachers (N=1,110) and students (N=1,419) in elementary, secondary, and professional training schools.<sup>3</sup>

To measure the social gap, we suggested a series of social relations with various ethnic groups, asking if it 'made no difference,' would be 'somewhat disturbing,' or might be 'very disturbing' to live in the same neighbourhood with them, be their friends, work with them, have them as classmates or students, marry them, or marry their children. The groups eliciting the highest percentage of prejudice among teachers (taking the means of all the social relations suggested and adding the 'somewhat disturbing' and 'very disturbing' answers) were Gypsies (mean of prejudices in all relations proposed) (49.1%); Arabs (40.6%); black Africans (29.9%); Jews (21.6%); Russians (18.1%); Japanese (16.1%); North Americans (11.9%); Portuguese (10.7%); English (10.4%); Latin Americans (6.8%); French (6.6%). The relationships eliciting the greatest suspicion and rejection were those of marrying their children: the total for all groups is 36%, the case of the Gypsies being highest with 69.4%, among the 'somewhat disturbing' (28%) and 'very disturbing' (41.4%) reactions; followed by marrying them (mean of all groups who find it 'somewhat disturbing' and 'very disturbing' 33.9%, and in the case of Gypsies 64.9%); living in the same neighbourhood (mean 14.1%, with Gypsies 49.2%); the relation eliciting the least prejudice among professors was to have them in their class: the mean for all groups was 8.7% and for Gypsy students 24.7%, of which 16.1% would find it 'somewhat disturbing' and 8.6% 'very disturbing.'

Students showed prejudice against relations with Gypsies (39.1%); Jews (31.5%); Arabs (29.9%); Russians (20.6%); black Africans (28.3%); Portuguese (27.2%); Latin Americans (27.1%); and North Americans (26.8%). The question was framed differently for students than for teachers, couched in less explicit and more general terms: would relations with them 'matter'; the above percentages are for affirmative answers.

We asked other questions regarding exogamous marriage. Thirty-nine percent of teachers and 35% of students considered it not advisable to marry someone of a different race; for a spouse of a different religion the figures were teachers (46%) and students (37%); for foreigners teachers (18%) and students (16%); for those of a different ethnic group—such as *payos* and Gypsies—teachers (49%) and students (32%).

We also asked questions about xenophobia and militant racism. Five percent of teachers and 11.4% of students declared that 'if it were up to me, I would expel the Gypsies from Spain and never let them back.' Students—but not teachers—were asked the same question about other groups, and the responses in favour of permanent expulsion were Gypsies (11.4%);

Arabs (11.1%); Jews (10.4%); Russians (8.7%); North Americans (7.0%); French (6.6%); Portuguese (6.6%); British (5.9%); black Africans (4.2%); and Latin Americans (4.2%).

16.3% of the teachers and 24.7% of students believed that Gypsies are not Spanish citizens. Teachers (47.9%) and students (35.8%) considered it best for Gypsies to live in 'separate neighbourhoods from *payos*.' Teachers (7.7%) and students (26.4%) believed that the best solution for *payo*-Gypsy educational problems would be 'schools only for Gypsies' (segregation). Of the teachers, 19.2% deemed it advisable to have 'special schools or centres where Gypsies were trained until they could enter regular schools'; and the remainder—74.1% [6.7% didn't respond]—believed that '*payos* and Gypsies should go only together to the same schools and classrooms from the beginning.' However, when the question was formulated differently, 25% maintained that when 'disputes arose in some centres over admitting Gypsy children, it was their parents who were mainly responsible for protesting against coeducation'; 48% felt that the fault lay mainly with 'those who favoured the admission of Gypsies to the same schools'; and 24% agreed with those who 'considered the best solution to be putting Gypsy children in special centres for subsequent admission to regular schools.'

The vast majority of teachers (94%) admit that prejudice exists in Spain against Gypsies, against Arabs (78.4%), against Jews (24.5%), and against Latin Americans (11.9%); 43.2% admitted that they are 'prejudiced against one or more of the above groups.'

One out of five teachers (20.1%) and students (20.2%) believed that, unlike other Spanish autonomous communities, 'Gypsies have no culture of their own.' Almost all teachers (89%) and students (88%) agree that 'Spanish society treats Gypsies worse than *payos*.'

Anti-Gypsy stereotyping is very deep and widespread. Over one-third consider Gypsies responsible for their own poverty and marginalization, attributing their poverty to 'they don't like to work' (25% of teachers and 31% of students); respondents distrust Gypsies because 'they do more stealing than *payos*' (37% of teachers and 46% of students); that Gypsies 'do not get anywhere because their parents don't bother with their children and don't send them to school' (57% and 46%); that 'they themselves are to blame for their marginalization because they don't want to be integrated' (33% and 44%).

The following data are also cause for concern. Teachers (33%) and students (46%) agree that 'throughout human history the white race has been the most developed and is superior to other races.' The existing conflict in North America and Africa is seen as a consequence of the racism of 'others': most teachers (51%) and students (57%) think that 'the Spaniards were not racists like the English in their colonies, as the existence of *mestizaje* proves.'

These are some of the more significant figures. They indicate that teachers in general are more favourably inclined toward solidarity and tolerance than Spanish society in general. Nevertheless, red ink on the ledger sheets is reflected in the figures on xenophobia, prejudice, lack of solidarity and, in some cases, militant racism.

### **Images and Stereotypes: *Payo* Opinions of Gypsies**

We now present a summary of our qualitative research on the stereotypes, prejudices, values, and feelings of Spanish students in relation to Gypsies. These were open, spontaneous, written comments by 1,000 students, of whom 600 were in general basic education, 250 in secondary schools, and 150 in professional training; there were 425 male and 575 female respondents.

The topics on which they were asked to write were:

1. Would you like to have a Gypsy as a classmate?
2. Would you marry a Gypsy?
3. If it were up to you, would you expel Gypsies from Spain?
4. What do you like and what do you dislike about Gypsies?
5. Why are Gypsies poor and excluded? Whose fault is it?
6. How are *payos* different from Gypsies?

***1. Would you like to have a Gypsy as a classmate?***

Sixty-one percent would openly accept Gypsies in class, 15% would expressly reject them, and 24% gave ambivalent replies. The criteria provided by the children who accept them is presented below:

***GYPSIES AND SCHOOL (I)***

**The Positive Axiological Paradigm: Everyone Is Equal  
(Majority acceptance as classmates: reasons)**

- We are all equal—people, human beings, children . . .
- Gypsies are equal to *payos*, even though they are of a different race and have a different culture.
- We all have the same rights, and that goes for education.
- Gypsies have a right to education and to go to school with *payos*.
- Schools and parents that don't want to admit Gypsies are doing something bad.
- According to various school experiences, Gypsies are good companions, loyal friends, happy children, and cheerful.
- It is good to have friends who have a different culture and customs.
- One has to help and protect those who are poor and excluded (solidarity/compassion/Christian charity).

The following prejudices and stereotypes 'justify' distrust and rejection in having Gypsies as classmates:

**ANTAGONISM, PREJUDICE, STEREOTYPE, COEXISTENCE PROBLEMS**

1. *They are dirty and slovenly*
  - Can give you lice, nits, virus, some kind of sickness
  - Don't follow rules of hygiene and cleanliness, are unkempt
  - Don't bathe and smell bad
  - Come to school like pigs
2. *They steal from us*
  - May take your things
  - Steal pencils, erasers, pencil sharpeners, some school supplies
  - May teach you to steal
3. *They hit us and scare us*
  - Hit you, even if you don't do anything to them
  - Think they have everything coming to them



- Start up with everybody
  - Hang around waiting for you and get all their relatives to beat you up
  - They're very treacherous . . . they give you the evil eye for the rest of your life
  - Hit you when you don't give them something they asked you to give them
  - Carry knives . . . slash you with knives
4. *They don't let us do our work:*
- Don't follow school rules
  - They don't leave me alone in the classroom
  - One sat next to me and I had a very bad time with him
  - They smoke strong stuff, are bad, and don't let us work
  - Their bad marks and fooling around may rub off on me
  - They would lower the school's reputation
  - Our mothers tell us to beware of Gypsies
5. *They don't mix and have different customs:*
- They don't want to become part of our society.
  - They belong to another group—not like ours—and have their own customs.
  - First of all, I insist that they become totally integrated into our culture.
6. *I hate them, despise their culture:*
- They are very bad and are drunks.
  - I have a different way of thinking than theirs, and I hate them besides.
  - I want nothing to do with their race; I despise their culture.
  - Gypsies, no! Nowhere . . . I'm sorry.
  - A Gypsy will not be able to reason (is not a person), as long as he/she has no education.

**2. *Would you marry a Gypsy?***

Thirty-nine percent say that marrying a Gypsy would make no difference to them, 49% reject the idea, and 12% give equivocal answers.

Basic position (%) and ideological justification	Values and attitudes	Axiological codes
Acceptance (39%)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Openness</li> <li>• Tolerance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Love as a reason for marriage</li> <li>• Universal human equality</li> </ul>
Rejection (49%)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Distrust</li> <li>• Suspicion of things foreign</li> <li>• Fear of the unknown</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ethnoracial difference</li> <li>• Family problems</li> <li>• Stereotype of the Gypsy as poor, dirty, a tramp, a thief</li> </ul>

**3. *Would you expel the Gypsies from Spain?***

Eighty percent think that they should not be expelled, 7% that only the bad ones should be, and 13% believe that they should all be expelled.

Those students who reject expulsion give the following series of ethicoaxiological semantemes:

• Not right, expulsion is bad (55) • Very bad thing to do (49) • Not right (17) • Not fair, an injustice (17) • They don't have a right to expel them (16) • I would not like them to be expelled (15) • It would be racism (14) • It would be savagery (7) • It would be unconstitutional (6) • Not a good idea (5) • It would be cruel (5) • It would be barbaric (3) • It would be stupid (3) • Aberrant, a human aberration (2) • It would be like what the Nazis did (2) • Heartless (2) • A dirty trick (2) • Brutal (2) • Shameful (2) • Horrible (2) • That's going too far (2) • An atrocity (1) • Stupid (1) • Deplorable (1) • Foolish (1) • Something terrible (1) • Uncivilized (1) • A stupid act (1) • A crazy thing (1) • Disastrous (1) • Overdoing it (1) • Going too far . . . it isn't that bad (1) • One of the biggest mistakes (1) • They'd have to be disgusting, swine, pigs, and sons of bitches (1)

The following reasons (positive value and negative prejudice exponents) were given as justification for the positions regarding expulsion:

### 1. *Against expulsion (80%)*

- We are all equal.
- Gypsies are human beings like everyone else.
- Gypsies are Spaniards, like us.
- Because they are different, Gypsies are a cultural asset of Spain.
- One must be charitable, compassionate, and in solidarity with those who are excluded.
- The Gypsies are not that much of a disturbance.

### 2. *Expulsion of only the 'bad' ones (7%)*

Dubious and equivocal positions:

- Expel the thieves and drug addicts, the ones who kill and make trouble . . .
- Depends . . . on the one hand, yes; on the other, no.
- They are the same as us, but some are very bad.
- The best solution is to bring them all together in their own areas (segregation).

### 3. *For expulsion (13%)*

- They steal, kill, and are very bad.
- They annoy and frighten.
- They beg and live off others.
- They do not want to be integrated into society.
- They have primitive and uncivilized ways of life.
- They belong to another race, are subhuman.
- They are not Spaniards.
- They are the epitome of crime, disturbances, and chaos.
- Don't expel them . . . do to them what Hitler did to the Jews [extermination].

## **Summary of prejudices and positive values**

The following tables record the prejudices and negative stereotypes as revealed in students' answers.

PREJUDICES, STEREOTYPES, AND PHOBIAS  
(general views)

• They don't let us learn. • They don't live up to the school's standards. • Their presence lowers the school's reputation. • Our mothers tell us to watch out for Gypsies. • They are ignorant and illiterate, and don't want to go to school. • Their parents aren't concerned about their education. • They don't like to work. • They are lazy, tramps, idlers, and loafers. • It's their own fault that they are poor; they are tramps and thieves. • They are beggars and squander what they are given. • They send their children out begging instead of to school. • They're given apartments and then destroy everything; they are like animals. • They make bonfires, burn up the doors and steal the plumbing out of the housing they get. • They can't live as neighbours or in society as we do. • They are dirty, slovenly, stinking, poorly dressed. • They don't bathe; carry lice and disease. • They live in slums and are poor, but squander money. • They beg but have nice cars, colour TV, and videocassettes. • They mistreat their wife and children. • They are male chauvinists, demanding virginity in their women while they do whatever they want. • They arrange marriages and don't give young people any choice. • They spend their lives having children they can't feed. • They don't want to become part of our society; they are weird. • They keep to themselves, don't mix, don't want to adapt. • They get on my nerves with their way of life, their customs, their laws. • They have primitive and uncivilized systems of life. • They go from one place to another and don't want to settle down. • They are nomads and don't like to farm. • They frighten people, think they have everything coming to them, think they're the boss, start up with everybody. • I'm afraid of them, don't trust them. • They hit us and call out their whole family. • They are thieves, cocky, deceitful, tramps, scoundrels, quarrelsome, untrustworthy, cold-blooded, wild, ill-tempered, vulgarians, nasty, mean-looking, lawless, un-Christian, troublemakers, roughnecks, drunkards, louts, brawlers, sluggers, uncivilized, miserable wretches, treacherous. • They carry a knife, are dangerous; they slash you, rape and kill. • Drug addicts, drunks, criminals, thieves. • They are not Spaniards, not citizens. • I would put them away in neighbourhoods and villages for themselves alone. • I would expel them from Spain and never let them back. • I don't like anything and hate everything about Gypsies. • I despise their culture, want nothing to do with their kind. Gypsies out! • They belong to another race, subhuman. • They are inferior; God made them so. • Their features make them look like blacks. • They are the epitome of criminality, disorder, and chaos. • They will have to be gradually segregated, suppressed, and exterminated. • Expel the Gypsies? No, do what Hitler did to the Jews.

The following reflect *positive values and attitudes*:

• If they don't want the Gypsies, send them to my class. • They are good schoolmates; they lend you things. • They have the right to an education, just like us. • They are good friends, honest and appreciative. • I would marry a Gypsy if I wanted to. • In love, races don't exist. • Gypsy women are pretty, and the men are good, handsome, and likable. • They are lively, fun, and friendly. • I love their parties, their weddings, their *cante jondo*, and their dancing. • They have a charming way of talking. • I am glad that they want to preserve their customs, independence, and freedom. • I admire their ability to survive poverty. • They are brave and strong, have a sense of honour and respect their laws. • I like their family unity, mutual support, ethnic solidarity, and respect for their elders. • They love one another and their 'cult' makes them more religious. • The Gypsies are a piece of Spain. • They have a right to their culture and to be different. • They are a cultural asset for all of Spain. • They are distinctive, sensational, artists. • They get blamed for everything that isn't their fault. • They are unfairly maligned and everybody treats them that way. • Some steal, but because they need to feed their children. • Those who want to expel the Gypsies are racists, evil, unfair, savages, cruel, barbaric, jackasses, Nazis, pigs, sons of bitches . . . • The *payo* society is responsible for their poverty and exclusion. • They are discriminated against for racist reasons, because they are different, because they

have another culture, because they are poor. • They don't want to give them jobs because they are Gypsies. • They should be helped to escape from their exclusion. • The Spanish state and government must give them opportunities. • We must be charitable, compassionate, and in solidarity with them. • We are all equal—we're all people, all human beings. • We are all Spaniards, all citizens. • We all have the same rights, even if we are of a different race and have a different culture. • We must get over our hatred for one another and live as siblings and as God's children.

### **Militant Racism vs. Egalitarian Solidarity**

The following selection shows both sides of the coin: racism on the one hand; and, on the other, coexistence, solidarity, and egalitarianism.<sup>4</sup>

'It is very sad to expel people from their own country when they have nowhere to go; but I agree in the case of the Gypsies, since they do not know how to live like ordinary people. I, for one, agree that they should be expelled, if they don't know how to respect others and don't change their way of life. I respect all races and believe that everybody is equal; what I do not respect, and what is hard for me to live with, are the typical Gypsies, who, as I have already said, have bad manners and are dirty tramps.' (professional training school student, 20 years of age, female, Castile)

'I agree with those who want to expel the Gypsies from Spain; they are the dung heap of Europe and Africa, who come here and end up dropouts, delinquents who think Spain is paradise, all this because of the politics that predominate in this country. An iron hand is needed; I cannot understand why we have to take in all the Gypsies and Portuguese beggars, who are forming veritable organizations, exploiting the children. Nor do I understand why we take in the Yugoslavs, who go from one country to another until they get to Spain, where they steal everything along their way. The same for the Moroccans, who are introducing drugs into Spain in an almost 'infantile' manner. The same goes for the situation with the coloured workforce in Barcelona; they are taking away jobs from the Spaniards because of their low wages and they are in Spain illegally. To solve all this you have to have a strong law for alien status (I think there is one in force, but it makes no difference). An iron hand is what this country needs. Also, all these disenfranchised people are exploited by communism as a stick to beat the Spanish people for racism. It is not racism but our right to take action against undesirables who were not born in this country. Spain must be for the Spaniards.' (secondary-school student, 18 years old, male).

Some 8 of the 1,000 students were even more virulent, speaking of 'subhumans' and 'inferior races' who look like 'apes' and generally advocating radical measures:

'Whether you admit it or not, Gypsies bring with them criminality, filth, disorder, diseases . . . I believe that Gypsy communities should be isolated from the civilized world, since they might learn to be domesticated . . . they are a species of a lower order . . . subhumans . . . as long as they do not carry out their duty to society, the whole world is making a mistake in not taking measures to gradually exterminate them.' (second-year secondary-school student, 16 years old, male)

A 20-year-old woman wrote: 'Personally, I do not like Gypsies at all; the farther away they are, the better . . . they make me sick. I would not expel them; I would pick all of them up and do what Hitler did with the Jews.'

These are some of the cruel and atrocious xenophobic statements about the Gypsies—the ethnos with which we have coexisted but have not learned to live with or tolerate in the five hundred years that they have been among us. Because they are here, we project our prejudices on them; moreover, racism and xenophobia against Moroccan immigrants and black Africans will continue to increase.

Most students, however, 'proclaim,' in formal discourse, the principles of human equality for blacks and Arab blacks, as well as for Gypsies. The following statements are representative:

'I wouldn't change my Gypsy friends for anything in the world. I trust them and never worry about whether they are Gypsies or not; all I know is that they are human beings and that they are my friends.' (8th-grade, basic general education [EGB], female, 14 years old)

'I believe that they are people just like us because God made everybody equal: we all have the same rights—without taking into account skin colour, religion, or culture—because at the hour of Salvation we will all be equal.' (male, 12 years old)

'I just believe in love for all races, love of all the good people in the world.' (professional training school, female, 19 years old)

'I believe that nobody should be excluded because of skin colour or for being of a different religion. I believe that the ones who should be excluded are those who harm and damage society—those are the people who should be. They should be excluded because they are asking for it. But a black is not to blame for being black, nor a Gypsy for being a Gypsy. God is the one who had them be born, and they are all his children. That is why no distinction should be made: because, as He told us, 'Thou shalt love one another.' He did not say, 'Gypsies should love Gypsies and reject whites.' He did not tell the whites, 'Love the whites and reject the blacks, Gypsies, yellows, Jews, Moors, etc.' We whites have always considered ourselves superior—but why, if we are all equal?' (female, 12 years old)

### **Conclusion: Egalitarian Discourse and Racist Praxis?**

Throughout these investigations are two ideologo-axiological coordinates whose relationship is both once oppositional and complementary: each manipulates the other according to the situation, social environment, and conflict arising from competition for funds, prestige, or power. On the one hand, the dominant majority society (*payo*) proclaims loudly and continuously the axiological paradigm of human equality and universal community. This principle is axiomatic as a social value and as an irrefutable criterion for schoolbooks, teachers, youths, adolescents, and children.

On the other hand, with regard to more concrete, preconceived situations of interethnic conflict, intolerant and sometimes xenophobic and racist principles of ethnocentrism are invoked—without denying at the formal discursive level the basic axiological postulate of human equality. Ideological justifications make it possible to assign to 'others'—the 'different' ones (Gypsies)—the blame for their own exclusion and social discrimination. At the formal politico-ideological level, cultural pluralism and respect for difference are lauded, but in daily social practice, they are ignored and structurally hindered, requiring everyone to follow a single model of rules and behaviour rooted in the value system of the dominant majority of society.

This gap between the professed 'duty to be ethical' and the conflictive severity of intolerance and racism is generating in Spanish society—as well as European—an anguished 'schizophrenic paranoia' between theory and practice that can extend to behaviour within the European Community as far as economic emigrants and their children—particularly those from third world cultures—are concerned.

Many social institutions and agents must contribute if a new society and a new Europe are to be built; communications and education are two crucial areas for sensitizing and encouraging tolerance and respect for differences. Furthermore, that education must not repeat the traditional negative stereotypes of non-Europeans. A humanitarian and cooperative ideology must extend to the millions of emigrants from the third world who live among us and are also constitute Europe.

'It is necessary,' a resolution of the European ministers of cultural affairs declares, 'to recognize the plurality of our societies and to give our policy a new dimension that extols respect for personal dignity, spiritual values, and the right of minority groups to cultural expression. Within the framework of cultural democracy a special effort should be made in favour of groups that have so far been less helped.'

## Notes

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2. An analysis of the student writings was published by Editorial Popular de Madrid (1989) as *Los Racistas son los otros*. In 1993 I repeated the 1986 survey carried out among students. The results were even more alarming and made news in such Spanish newspapers as *El País* (Madrid, January 2 and 11, 1994), which reported the rise of racism among Spanish youth. The book and its findings were also reported on by *El País* (October 13, 1995), *ABC* (same dateline), and numerous regional newspapers. In 1986, 11.4% of high school students favoured the expulsion of Gypsies from Spain. In 1993 the figure had risen to 30.8%. Regarding North Africans, figures rose from 11.1% in 1986 to 26.1% in 1993. Percentages have also risen for all other ethnic groups with the exception of other Europeans. See my book *Crece el racismo, también la solidaridad*.
3. The technical data are as follows:  
 The size of the sample was 1,110 teachers from basic general education (EGP), secondary (BUP), and professional training schools, selected by sex, age, type of school, grade, social class of the students, background and field of study. The questionnaire was answered in January 1987 in the 17 autonomous communities, with a confidence level of 95.59 and a margin of error of  $\pm 3\%$ .  
 The sample size was 1,419 students from basic general education (7th and 8th grades), secondary, and professional training schools, selected according to grade, sex, type of school, social class, and background. The questionnaire was answered in January 1986 in eight sampling regions (Andalucía, Castilla-La Mancha, Castilla-León, Asturias, Extremadura, Madrid, Cataluña, and País Vasco). The confidence level is higher than that of the teachers, with a margin of error of  $\pm 5\%$ . The statistical processing of both surveys was done by ODEC-UNITEC.  
 This work was awarded the National Prize for Research on Social Welfare (1988) by the Ministry of Social Affairs and the College of Politics and Sociology and was published as *El racismo que viene* (Tecnos, Madrid, 1989).
4. The results of this qualitative investigation, using written testimony from students, were published as *¿España racista? Voces Payas sobre los Gitanos* (Anthropos: Editorial del Hombre, Barcelona, 1990).

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